/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the [591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is [513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle 584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At 585 nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/130 cont./
584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
[601] wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of it'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage
[304] in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and warlike in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer. 462

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, may be seen going forth in various directions with huge baskets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their foreheads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him. 222 [482] [854]

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is contracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Because of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old. 582 584 839 [584]

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584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *To Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *To Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives 603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.

[853] [147] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are [304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians 548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured